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A

CRITICAL REVIEW

OF THE

NEW ADMINISTRATION.

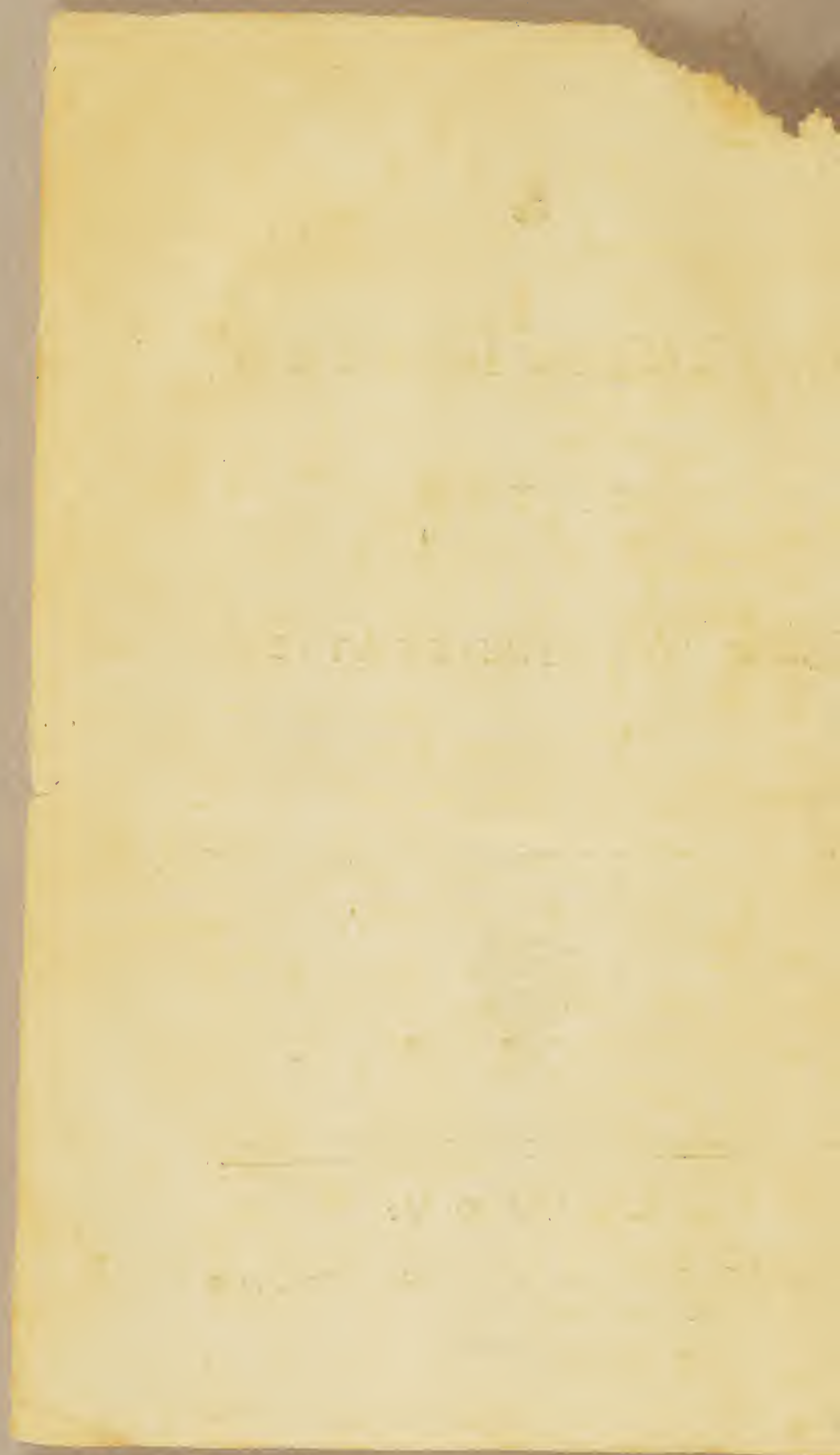


L O N D O N :

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A
CRITICAL REVIEW
OF THE
NEW ADMINISTRATION.

IT is of little Importance to the Publick to know from whom these Thoughts proceed, provided they are just : It is of still less Consequence to know what gave rise to them, provided they are seasonable. If the Facts contained in this Paper are true, and the Reasonings fair, they will probably have Weight with that Part of the People which does not determine from Prejudice or Interest, and to that Part alone they are addressed.

A Change of Administration is generally speaking a popular Event ; it gives an Opportunity of discharging whatever Spleen may have been contracted on the

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discarded

discarded Statesmen, who are to carry off, on their devoted Heads, the Sins of the whole People.

The Profusion of Graces, which Ministers at their Accession scatter among their Subjects, is another effectual Method of engaging Partizans. But altho' both these Instruments of Government have been very briskly used, though as much Abuse has been thrown on the retiring Ministers as could be heaped upon them, and as much Honour and Preferment given to all those who will join with the present Ministers as their Heads can bear, yet they have not been able to acquire much Strength or Reputation: So far indeed are they from forming any compact Body against the approaching Combat, that tho' they have proclaimed by Beat of Drum, that Men of all Sizes and Ages, who are willing to enlist, shall enter into present Pay and good Quarters, they every Day perceive fresh Marks of Force and Union in their Enemies, and of dislike in those whom they had thought

thought neuter, and give fresh Proofs of Weakness and Disunion among themselves.

To remedy, if they can, this Distress, they have advertised in News-Papers, the Concessions of the *French* Court in demolishing the Jetties of *Dunkirk*, to prove their Abilities in acquiring by Negotiation what was never refused : Their frequent *and* *Grand* Treasury-Boards to shew their Diligence ; and the *prodigious* *Grand Levees* of the Marquis of *Rockingham*, to convince us of their Numbers and Importance.

They have not stopped here ; a Variety of Pens have been employed to sound forth their Praises, and to calumniate the late Ministers, who are constantly represented, not as they either are or have been, but as the Humour or Instructions of the respective Authors are pleased to pourtray them. The New Ones too, are said to be both *(a) the Friends and (b) the Enemies of*

(a) Vid. Spectacles, p. 36.

(b) Vid. Merits, p. 6.

the Favourite ; to (c) have displaced, and (d) not to have displaced the late Administration ; to have formed a (e) System opposite to that of the late Ministry, which was condemned by the whole Nation, and (f) to have no Public Principle differing from the last M——y. What One Answer is sufficient for such contradictory Assertions, either or both, or neither of which may be avowed while the Reply to them is drawing up ? It will be the safest Way therefore, to consider the last Manifesto as the Ministerial Calendar now in use, not only as it has the Recommendation of being corrected to the latest Day, but as it claims (how truly I know not) particular Authority, and has chosen the parading Title of the Merits of the New Administration ; and after reproving the Public for the Liberty they have taken of Smiling at such

(c) Vid. Spectacles, p. 8.

(d) Vid. Merits, p. 44.

(e) Vid. Merits, p. 46.

(f) Vid. Spectacles, p. 6:

respectable

respectable Characters, has called us to a serious Examination of their Characters and Conduct.

This is fair Dealing ; It is of Consequence to the People to examine *the Merits* of those into whose Hands they are committed ; Confidence in their Governors, or Opposition to their Measures, will be the Consequences of such an Examination.

I undertake it without retorting as I might on their Friends the Accusation of having virulently attacked Characters which have as good a Right to an unblemished Reputation as any of the youngest and most innocent of the present Ministry.

The Brawls of News Papers, the low Scandal which has been so industriously circulated by the Agents of the New Administration ; the gross and false Insinuations which are contained in the very Pamphlet which reproves them, are below even the Answer of a Gentleman.

It is not for want of Materials that I avoid this Topic, but from the Contempt in which I hold any Advantage which could
be

be derived from it : I will only remind them, that it is possible every one may not Practice the same Reserve, and quote to them a Piece of Latin, which is about the Level of their reading. *Qui alterum incusat probri eum ipsum se intueri oportet.*

I proceed to consider *their Merits*.—I am very sensible of the Disadvantage which attends the attacking a Writer who holds out a *Ministerial Authority* ; who, besides the Air of Mystery and Importance, which mark young Ministers can *affirm upon good Authority*, and who is allowed to tell Truth enough to gain Credit, that he may employ it to deceive. In Opposition to this, I own I have nothing to offer but plain Facts ; but I am not discouraged ; the Notoriety of these will supply the Place of Anecdote, and the Public will rather trust one who tells them nothing but what their own Recollection assures the Truth of, than an unknown Agent, who has nothing to lose by a Detection, and much to gain by even a momentary Success. I do not undertake to point out all the distinct Misrepresentations of the Pamphlet before
me ;

me; those only which are of Importance and which concern the Public, are here attended to.

I begin by complaining in the Name of the Public, that the Author deceives us in the very Title; he calls his Work, *The Merits of the New Administration*: He has not in the Course of it attempted to prove any thing, but that they are not liable to the Objections which have been made to them. Their Merits then are not the Subject, except he is conscious of, and means to acknowledge the Justice of the Public Opinion, that they have no Merits of a positive Kind.

But a much more material Objection is, that those Advantages which he ascribes to them, are so blended together, that it is impossible to judge of the Truth of the Facts, or to distribute among them the Degrees of Reputation, which he says they deserve. This Confusion and Difficulty arises from his strange Use of the Word *They*. Under this general Term, he comprehends Men as different in their
Ages,

Ages, Characters, and Pursuits, as those who compose the present Administration are known to be.

Nothing can be more unjust than the Liberty which is taken, to attribute to *all* these Gentlemen whatever Virtues he can persuade himself are to be found in *any*.

The Administration does I presume consist of the Lord-President of the Council, the two Secretaries of State, the first Lord of the Treasury, and, on this Occasion, of the Lord Privy-Seal, to whom may be added the Duke of C——, by whom *they*, say *they*, had the Honour to be recommended, and by whom every Body else says, they have had the Advantage to be supported.

Now it is impossible that the Characters and Merits of Men, so different in their Ages, Professions, Principles and Success, can fairly be united; and yet of all these together, and therefore equally (as it should seem) of each, he writes his Panegyrick.

These are some of the things he says of them :

*P. 2. They stood recommended to the Nation
by*

by their Independency, their unblemished Characters, and their distinguished Zeal for Liberty.

Ibid. Persons, who if their Offices had been Elective, would, upon Mr. Pitt's Declension, have been chosen by the Independent Part of the Nation.

P. 5. As that Power (the Power of the Crown) has been exercised in their Favour, merely in Consequence of their Public Credit and Characters.

P. 9. Their Characters are as pure and unexceptionable as any Characters, public or private, in the Kingdom.

P. 10. Their great Hereditary Fortunes—full Vigour of their Abilities.

P. 11. They disapproved Lord Bute's Administration, &c. and suffered their Dependents to be turned adrift.

P. 24. The Persons he is supposed to have recommended, had every Qualification of Understanding, Rank, Fortune, Principle and Character.

We have a Right to complain, that in these Words he does not specify, divide, appropriate. I shall afterwards complain,

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that

that he asserts falsely, and that the Political Merits (for with those only I am *now* concerned) which he attributes to *all*, are truly to be attributed to *none*.

I now only observe, that he does not deal fairly by us ; he leads us to think that he means to say these civil Things of all of *them* ; and yet it is impossible he can mean this ; he cannot wish to be understood when he says, *They* gave up their Offices, and suffered their Dependants to be turned adrift, as affirming, that the Duke of G—— gave up an Office he had not, or Mr. *Conway* who kept it, or Lord *W——* who could not get it ; and yet the Lord-President, and the two Secretaries of State, he certainly means to consider as Part of the Administration. He speaks of their great Hereditary Fortunes—Are the Fortunes of all of them equally great ? Are *Their* Abilities equally so ? Are they equally in their full Vigour ? Of whom does he, of whom does he not affirm this ? Is 74, and 26, and 42, equally the Time in which their Abilities are in full Vigour ?

Are

Are the Characters equally pure and unexceptionable of those who have, and who have not already been seen in Public Business? Are Lord R—, and the Duke of G—, to be confounded with the Duke of N—, the Earl of W—, and General Conway?

Is it true, that if their Offices had been Elective, the independent Part of the Nation would have chosen, with equal Ardour, the Persons whom they had for more than twenty Years despised and hated (whether justly or not is not the Question) and those who were, and those who were not known to them.

I repeat it, that this is unfair Dealing, and I think it incumbent on the Person who has undertaken to invent Merits for them, to divide them too, and to speak out; to give every one their Share. If he does not do this, may he not expect that some Antagonist may take the Advantage of his Insincerity, and Re-print his Pamphlet, with the Addition of Names instead of his favourite *They*. This would be a severe Answer, of which, however, he

would have no Right to complain, tho' he would hardly escape the Reproaches of those for whom he writes. If, for Instance, the Paragraph in the second Page was thus Re-printed. *The Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Winchilsea, and Mr. Conway, Persons, who if their Offices had been elective, would, upon Mr. Pitt's Declension, have been chosen by the Independent Part of the Nation.* Or Page 9. instead of *their Characters, the Characters of the D. of —N, the Earl of W—, and Mr. C—, are as pure and unexceptionable as any Characters, Public or Private in the Kingdom; they were considered by the Public as upright and consistent Men.* Or, Page 11. *The Duke of G—, M— of R—, Mr. C—, and Lord W— gave up their Offices, and suffered their Dependants to be turned adrift.*

If he does not explain himself, and Repartition their Merits, may he not expect *their* Characters should be considered by Others too in common? Could he complain with a good Grace, if some incredulous Opposer of the present Officers of State, should describe *them* as profuse, hackneyed, venal,

venal, ignorant in Civil Life ; of sullied Characters and Honour in a Military Light ? If he assured his Readers, that *They* were little shuffling, peevish, prating old Men, or rawboned, copper-coloured and short-sighted, or that *They* had passed their Times in all the Excesses and Profusions of Luxury ; that *They* had set an Example of the most pernicious Gaming to the whole Kingdom ; had haunted Gaming Houses to prey on the Ignorant, or even the Intoxicated ; that *They* understood nothing but Horse-racing, and that *They* kept Miss P—s ? But with what Justice can these latter Accusations be thrown on the Duke of *Newcastle*, for instance, and Mr. *Conway*, (to mention no others) whose domestic Characters are, to the best of my Belief, unexceptionable.

And yet, if the Administration is a Body corporate, which, like the Jesuits, participates in the Advantages, it ought, like them, to be responsible for the Defaults of its several Members. For the Truth is, that this Idea of a Communication of Merits is only transferred to an *English* Ministry

Ministry from the *Romish* Church ; in Imitation of which, the *Secretary of Merits* has thrown the Oeconomy and Wisdom of his Grace, the Ability and Industry of the Marquiss, the Disinterestedness of the Earl, and the Temper, Moderation, and constitutional Knowledge of the General, into an *aggegrate Fund*, and from this *Omnium* he draws out whatever Stock he thinks necessary for the support of his Characters.

But the whole of his Argument in plain Words amounts to no more than this ; that Part of the Administration which has never been in Office before, is untainted by the Vices of it ; those who have are experienced, and some of them have good Estates, from whence he very logically concludes, that *they are all uncorrupt, experienced, independent Statesmen.*

If I mistake his Argument, I do it from the want of understanding it. I am led into it by the abuse of the Word *they*, which must (not to shock the Senses as well as Understandings of his Readers) in the Compass of a Page, be attributed to
two

two or three different Setts of the People, who are now called Ministers, exclusively of the rest.

But that he may have no Reason to complain, I will join Issue with him on *the Merits* which he has given to his Masters. These are not indeed what might reasonably be expected from the Panegyrist of *a Ministry*: Constitutional Knowledge, Intelligence in Business, Wisdom and Vigour in Foreign Affairs, Oeconomy and Integrity in Domestic Arrangements, these are some of the Qualifications the Nation would wish in Ministers; he has not even claimed them; he could not support the Ridicule of using Words like these on *their* Subject. The only Merits he gives to them are, that they hate and are hated by Lord *Bute*, and approved by Mr. *Pitt*.—Without debating with him whether these two *Merits*, if granted to them, are sufficient to form Ministers, I will close with him on the Truth of the Points he has chosen to defend; and examine whether even these Merits are truly attributed to them. They are, to use his own Words, *1st*, (what alone in his
Opinion

Opinion (p. 7.) deserves Consideration) *the Favourite's Influence : 2d, The Approbation of Mr. Pitt, of the Public, and of the Crown : And, 3d, The Probability of their Permanence.* And, on all these Points, *I affirm, upon good Authority, that his Assertions are false ; the Authority I mean is, that of undoubted and notorious Facts.* The Merits he claims, with respect to *the Favourite* are, (p. 11.) *that they disapproved his Administration as soon as it was erected : That (p. 8,) their first Concern was to undertake the Service of the State, exclusively of him. That no personal Conferences or Correspondence, has passed between the present Ministers and that Noble Lord ; (Ibid.) and which is the strongest Proof, (p. 9.) that they (Men of Honour and Veracity) deny it.*

Now mark how a plain Tale shall put him down.

It cannot be true that *any Opposition was given to the Administration of the Favourite* as soon as it was erected by the Duke of G—, for he was then Abroad ; nor by General Conway, for he was sent Abroad in an eligible Post, under his Administration ; nor
by

by Lord R——, for he has ever followed implicitly his Guide the Duke of N—— ; and this Noble Duke was so far from opposing that Lord, that the Earl of B—— was made Secretary of State (his first avowed Entrance into Public Business) with the Participation and Approbation of his Grace (tho' not of Mr. Pitt.) If I added with *his express Advice*, I am convinced, that no Man who knows the Transactions of that Time, will venture to contradict me ; so that it is plainly untrue that *they opposed his Administration as soon as it was erected*, and therefore whatever Argument is to be drawn from the Tenor of *their former Conduct* is ill grounded. But there are much stronger Arguments than merely presumptive ones, which prove as strongly their Union with him, as any Treaty can be proved, to the Success of which, it is necessary the two Parties should deny it. It is known that the Removal of the late Ministers was persisted in, because they were thought hostile to Lord B——, and the Resolution taken to submit to the Introduction of Men before disliked and
D despised.

despised. It is of little Consequence to enquire whether the Removal of the Favourite's Brother was the Beginning or the End of this Contest. If Hostility to the Favourite was the Cause of the Removal of the late Ministry, it requires no great Judgment to perceive, that the Present were understood by those who were most interested in the Question to be *less* Hostile.

The Name of the *Negotiator* points to the same Hand. The Partizans of this Person had run into the greatest Lengths of Faction, had indecently opposed on the most delicate Question which could be agitated, and in which the Peace and Union of the R— F— were most deeply concerned. But some few Months before the late Change he had been reconciled to the E. of B—, and was therefore chosen for the Instrument of the late Removals.

This Person who had the Credit of having formed the present motley Set, and who was the actual Administrator of the Graces of the Crown, as the Duke of N— is of the Official Departments, is known to have had constant Intercourse with Lord
B—.

B—. He it was who repeatedly pressed *Mr. P—* to consent to form an Administration with Lord *N—* at the head of the Treasury, and it is therefore not unfair to conclude, that with their Places *they* received from his Hand that Sacred List of Dependants which the late Administration were dismissed for attacking, and which the Present have therefore not dared to Attack.

If that should be true which the Observations of Mankind led many to suspect, that those who abjured the Favourite in one Place, promised some Mark of Favour to him in another; and that it was designed, from the first Hour of Change, to form a Ministry in such a manner, that the Introduction of the Father-in-law of his Son in the Place of the Marquis could scarcely be refused, and if this Change should even still actually take Place, this will form a Proof incapable of being resisted, that the Favourite has duped even those who thought themselves most secure, but it would form too such a Scene of Du-

plicity and Falsehood as would Disgrace not the Actors only but the Kingdom.

What degree of Honour arises to, and what degree of Popularity follows them from their being recommended by the D. of C. I should most freely have enquired. But a late Event has made it indecent to enter into a Disquisition of this sort, and I leave it therefore to the Consideration of the Reader.

The Terms of the Treaty furnish another Proof. It is remembered, that when the Earl of B— undertook the Negotiation with Mr. P—, in *August* 1763, among other things it was proposed to place Lord N— at the head of the Treasury. This Mr. P— absolutely refused, because it was plainly an Administration of Lord B—'s, and they had too much Honesty to contradict their former Professions, and too much Public Spirit to give any Countenance to an Administration they thought prejudicial to the Public Interest.

It was equally notorious, that this Condition

dition was the first again proposed to Mr. P— in the last Spring, but is Lord N— the Man whom the Duke of C—— would have wished in that Post? What is the Bond which tied them? Could it be any other than that of a Stipulation with Lord B——, that the Father-in-law of his Daughter should be substituted in the room of himself. I will state the Facts upon this Head, and leave the Consequence to the Reader.

The late Administration was removed because they were thought Hostile to the Favourite. They had removed his Brother; these have not troubled One of *the List*; and the *Entremetteur* lately reconciled to the Favourite, made it his first demand to Mr. P—, that the Brother of Lord B— by Marriage, the same Person whom that Earl had wished to place at the Treasury in 1763, should be placed there in 1765. I am prevented from leaving the Conclusion to the Reader; one of their Advocates, who writes their Sentiments, who professes to speak in their Name, who declares what they will, and what

what they will not do ; a Writer, who drawing his own from, and wishing that his Readers would conform their Ideas of Political Vision to the Standard of my Lord President, calls his Pamphlet, *A Pair of Spectacles*, has claimed this Connexion with the Favourite as a Merit. “ *If he* “ (p. 36, he speaks of Lord B——) is willing to give Support, and shall be able, it “ will increase not lessen their Security, nor “ need they be ashamed to accept the “ Assistance even of him.” “ They are “ not so great Novices in Politicks as to “ refuse Support from any Quarter.” And (p. 38) “ Those over whom *He* is supposed to have an Influence left to themselves will probably adopt that Side to “ which he is *understood to be least unfavourable.*”

I pass to his second Source of *their Merits* that they possess, the Approbation of Mr. Pitt, of the Public, and of the Crown:

1st, They do not deserve it of Mr. P— whom they forsook.

It is tedious to quote Expressions. They will

will not deny that to be the Sum of their Assertions ; those which respect Mr. P— are indeed something reduced in Strength from the Assurances which in the first Days of their being in Office they thought it proper and necessary to pledge his Name to. They had then a Letter under his Hand, in which he promised him his own Support, and that of all his Friends. All which is now affirmed is, that he made them a civil Speech at parting ; for the Fact is, that these Gentlemen forsook him in the first Moment in which they thought they could profit by that Step : They had not indeed (I speak of the Bulk of them) ever wished to put themselves under his Protection, 'till they were driven from the Court.

When these *Dependants* on his Grace were turned adrift in the Political Hurricane of 1762, and the Age of their own Captain scarcely promised the Probability of his being again employed ; without Knowledge, Abilities or Heads, they continued for some Time, floating upon the Political Ocean in a State of absolute Despair.

ipair. They ventured, at Length, to make
 some Approaches to Mr. *Pitt*, whom they
 had, in Conjunction with his Grace, hated
 and feared; Lord *Temple* saw them in
 Distress, which, with his generous Mind,
 was sufficient to procure Protection. Mr.
Pitt, more reserved, permitted, however,
 some of them to see him sometimes; and,
 I dare say, when he did this, *he expressed*
no dislike of them. This, with a Ride now
 and then on the Road towards *Hayes*, and
 the Privilege of being admitted to deliver
 a Message, gave them sufficient Ground to
 call themselves his Party; an Opinion
 which they endeavoured to fortify by the
 strongest Declarations of Zeal for his Ser-
 vice. In this Situation things stood, when,
 last Spring, those two Patriots twice re-
 fused the Offices of Government. The
 Reason given the first Time is known to
 be their Determination not to form any
 Connexion with the Favourite, whose
 Power and Influence was to be displayed
 by setting Lord *Nor——* at the Head
 of the Treasury.

Among

Among the Reasons of Lord T—'s second declining, it is equally known the principal one was, that no Provision was made for carrying on the K—'s Government in the House of Commons. An Answer, which would not have been given, had those Patriots held *those* who have now undertaken that Office in any degree of Consideration. Had Mr. *Pitt*, indeed, directed the Counsels, and esteemed the Abilities of *Them*, he would, he must have recommended and united with them; his not doing this is a Proof from Fact what his Opinions are of *their* Abilities. But *they* had none of the finer Scruples. If Power was to be had, they cared not from whence, or by whose means; no sooner therefore was an Intimation given, that a Political Donative was to be distributed, but leaving Mr. *Pitt* with a civil Speech, and a low Bow, they hastened to scramble for it in the manner which has so much sunk the Dignity of the State, and so much amused the Public. They pretend, that Mr. *Pitt* returned their Speech and their Bow; it is not worth enquiry whether he did or not,

as long as it must be certain, that tho' he is superior to, and free from the Resentment which their Desertion of him would have raised in his Mind, if he had esteemed them, yet from his Principles, Connexions, and Actions, he must disapprove an Administration planned and formed between *Windsor-Lodge* and *Newcastle-House*.

The Assertions that *they* possess the Esteem of the Public ; that *they* were called to their Offices by the Voice of the Nation ; that *they* would have been chosen to fill those Offices by the independent Part, is still more palpably false.

The Ministry is composed of Men who have, and of Men who have not appeared in public Life. To the latter of these I do not mean to reproach their insignificant Obscurity, but this certainly prevents their having the Esteem or Voices of a Nation to whom they are absolutely unknown. Even their Names would never have been heard, except they had been found in that List of Statesmen, the *New-market Calendar*. We there read, that sometimes the Duke's *Herod*, sometimes his *Driver*, have
beaten

beaten Lord *Rockingham's Trifler*, or *Gim-rack*. It is impossible the wishes of a Nation can be directed to an Object which they knew by no other Information ; to those who had never appeared in any public Character ; had no Share of that Knowledge which qualifies Men for appearing in it with Advantage ; had never even affected it, but had put themselves, and (few People undervalue their own Abilities,) upon that Rank of common Court Lords, who form as constant a part of the Furniture of a Drawing-Room as the Figures in the Tapestry of it.

There are in all Courts, as well as in all Theatres, certain uninteresting well drest Figures in waiting, ready to perform any Part which is cast for them ; they carry Messages, copy Letters, repeat Orders, or bear Staves with equal Propriety ; when the principal Actor chuses a Part of less apparent Dignity, these People are dressed up in Blue Ribbands, and with white Wands, and in a grave and well measured Pace, walking before the King, and represent the great Officers of State. But

call such People what you will, you cannot increase their Importance.

Some of the present Company had, from the Moment they were able, performed in the great Tragi-comedy the Part of Courtiers ; they are therefore very naturally advanced to represent Ministers ; but tho' this may give them some little Appearance of Consequence within the Circle of a Court, the Nation is not led, or their Esteem obtained by such a Nomination ; they have had no Proof of, and therefore no Confidence in their Abilities ; they behold them therefore with the same indifferent Eye, as when they were mere Lords of the Bed-chamber.

The other part of the present Administration indeed is more known. Of one of these it is difficult to speak, for as the Reflections cast on him were of a very affecting Kind, I will only say, that in the Year 1757, which was the last important Transaction in which he was concerned, the Voice of the Nation attributed it to him, that one of the Plans of Mr. *Pitt*, for insulting and making an Impression on the *French Coast*,
which

which might have had the most successful Consequences, entirely miscarried, and that he was left long unemployed.

Another of them has been long in Power, it is not necessary to enter into a Discussion of his Merit, while he held it; it is sufficient that we remember, that in 1756, the Nation received at the Hands of the Patriots then in Opposition, his Grace's removal from Office as a domestic Deliverance, and an Omen, as it proved, of Foreign Conquest: And however variable the *English* may be represented, I cannot persuade myself that they would have chosen for Ministers, those whom they have beheld in that Station with Regret for more than twenty Years.

But it is not necessary to rest this Point upon presumptive Arguments. These Gentlemen cannot themselves be ignorant, that the Provinces think of them, so far as their Names are known, with a Mixture of Dislike and Contempt; and the Representatives of these Provinces, the landed Interest of the Kingdom, have viewed the late Changes with Regret and Disapprobation.

Of

Of the Corporations, if their Sentiments may be guessed at from those of the first of them, it is not necessary to say, that they will give this Ministry no Support; the public Companies, the Merchants of *England*, are known to be attached to the late Minister, from whose Oeconomy and Ability alone they expected some Reduction of the National Debt.

All these Facts are so notorious, that even our Ministers are not ignorant of them, and are believed to have therefore advised the desperate Measure of dissolving the National Representative; judge from thence what Foundations they themselves think they have of National Approbation. The last Advantage claimed for them is, *the Esteem of their Prince, the Royal Countenance*; and, it is argued, that any Opposition given to them, *is an Opposition to the King.* (Merits p. 48.)

They have already found so much Pleasure and Profit in their new Situation, that they will not permit, even to their S—n, the Power of removing them; if he should withdraw from them the Support of the
Instruments

Instruments of Government, he would be-guilty (they assert) of *gross Duplicity*. Merits, p. 38. And yet the Truth is, that of all the successive Systems which have been formed and dissolved, the present is not one which is least the Nomination, and possessed so little the Esteem, and therefore will receive so little the Support of the C—n as that which thus arrogantly claims it, if the following Facts are as true as the general Belief of them implies.

The Public knows the late Administration was ruined by its Success ; that part of it particularly which conducted the public Business in the H— of C—, had done it with so much Ability and Integrity, and therefore with so much Reputation, the Eyes and Confidence of Men of all Parties were so evidently turned towards this Gentleman, that it was thought Time to destroy a Minister, who from his Parliamentary and National Character, might be too deeply established in the Esteem of the ———.

By what means this Purpose was accomplished, whether by representing his Actions
in

in a false Light, or the Reputation he had acquired by them in a dangerous one; whether the Resolution was inspired of disgracing him, if he would not disgrace himself by quitting his Connexions, I do not pretend to be informed. It was at this Juncture, that the late Ministers thought it for the Honour of the ——— and the Advantage of the Kingdom, that the Favourite's power in *Scotland* should be reduced as well as that in *England*; and the Privy-Seal of it put into the Hands of a noble Whig-Family. This made their Destruction inevitable and immediate; if this was submitted to it was a Confession that that Power was lost, which tho' there is no Ability to use, has so assiduously been retained.

But it was not so easy to make Ministers as Vacancies. The Favourite's darling Project was in favour of Lord N——d, and he had the Weakness to suppose that Mr. P—— and Lord T—— would consent to this Submission to his avowed Influence.

He found himself mistaken; Mr. P——'s Reasons have not been made public. Lord T——'s

T—'s arose from his Determination never to unite with Lord *B—*. Disappointed and desperate they carried the Government to Lord *L—n*, to the *T—ds*, to every Name which had, and which had not dipped in Politicks. At length, when no-body would accept it, the present Ministers were summoned for the Offices of State; how they were to execute them, or by whom to be supported, was to be considered afterwards, and made just such a Change as King *Phyz* and King *Ush* do in the Rehearsal, apprehending like them, that if they missed the present Opportunity, no-body else would ever take them for Politicians, and thinking that nothing is required to make a Minister, but to seize the Post of one. In what Words they addressed each other I do not exactly know, but the Turn of them could not be very Different from those in which Mr. *Bayes* has made the Elder of his Politicians advise the Younger in the like Circumstances.

*And since Occasion now seems Debonair,
Do you take that, and I'll sit in this Chair.*

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The Publick is persuaded that this Prostitution of the Offices of Government was done, and that the Person who Acted on this Occasion the Part of *Protector* of the Kingdom, consulted no Inclinations but his own: The Proof of this is direct and public. If there are in the present Ministry Men, who while they were bound by the immediate Ties of Gratitude, and had the Honour of a near and immediate Service, appeared in Opposition upon Occasions whereon the private and personal Honour of their Master was concerned; the Public will not believe that they could be the Object of his Choice. A constant Opposition to his Servants, his Measures, and his Government, and repeated Attempts to inflame the People against them; these are their Services; *can these be steeped in Lethe and forgotten?* If their blind Precipitation would have admitted any Thought which might delay but for a Moment their Entrance into Office, they must have foreseen, that having deserved the Displeasure they have incurred, we see without wonder, that they are capable of retaining the Offices of
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the State, merely for the Profit of them, and without the only Circumstance which can make them pleasing to a feeling Mind, the Favour of the C——n.

The Public has occasion to laugh, when Men, who by the Political Joiner, who formed, and who knew of what Materials and to what End they were put together, were called only the Provisional Administration, affect to talk of Permanency, tho' they do not possess the Esteem of the People, the Grace of the ——, or even the Merits they claim, the Approbation of Mr. P——.

Upon these Grounds, the Question of Permanency is to be determined, a Question not interesting to those only who wish a Permanency of Place, but who are sick of the perpetual Fluctuation of System; who knew that with Men, Measures must be altered, and who wish not to give their Aid to support every successive Fabrick which Caprice shall begin to build, and to destroy before it is even finished. Such Men as these, who are tired and ashamed

to find, that their desire to defend the Rights and support the Measures of the Crown, has been abused in such a manner as to make them appear interested and variable; who are now considered as the Fixtures of the Political Shop, transferrable to every young Couple who set up, and will pay the common Sum for the Good-will of the House; who have been called, and almost treated like the Negroes which are always included in the Estate, will think, that here at Length is a Crisis in which the Assertion of their own Independency immediately is united with the Interests of their Country. They will resist therefore an Administration which professes to have been in Opposition to the Measures of the last three Years, which therefore they must begin by undoing, and they will convince the Public, that public Service will always receive as it deserves, public Esteem, and general Support.

While I am writing this, word is brought me, that a signal Proof of the Permanency of the present A———n has been lately given, in the Appearance of a Gentleman famous

mous for his Steadiness, accompanied by a noble Lord as remarkable for his Popularity at the Levee of the present Premier. Without puzzling either myself or my Readers, if perchance I should have any, with an Enquiry into the Causes of this Political Phænomenon, I will take it for granted, that the elder of these judicious Statesmen, seeing the languid, fainting Condition to which most of the present M——rs were reduced, brought with him some Sal Volatile in order to fetch them to themselves; and tho' upon its first Application it seemed to revive them and to give them Spirits, yet by being constantly used, and continuing unstopped, as it generally is, it, like other volatile Salts, evaporates, and disappoints those who expected to receive Assistance from the use of it. It were ridiculous to imagine that this appearance could be made with the hopes of deriving Stability to a System of so frail a Texture as the present. When this Country is derided abroad, and weakened at home by the Fluctuation of its internal Government, is this a Time for an Application to him, the transition of whose Attachments

Attachments and Connexions have outstripped even the Changes we complain of? We have long lamented, with too much Justice, the Corruption of the present Age, which by besetting Men's Necessities, leaves no room for their honest Judgments. Is this a Time then for the re calling of him to Government, whose Policy is Bargain and Sale, whose Negotiations are limited only by the extent of his Patronage, and who, with a given Quantity of Money, will not scruple to undertake any Measures that shall be proposed? Is it in this Juncture of public Necessity, that to the thoughtless Dissipation of which the Nation so long complained in an old Minister, that boundless Profusion is to be added, which being founded in corrupt Principle and want of real Ability, is more extensive and more dangerous. But supposing this Alliance less noxious to the Public, and of more consequence in point of Numbers than it really is, no Permanency, however, can be derived from a Treaty in which the Parties are not only cemented by any common Tie, but have in them the Seeds of mutual Aversion.

sion. His Lordship accedes to a M—y formed by that Person whom having injured he could not forgive, and composed of Men to whom his Life had been one Scene of Opposition ; while they, with equal Cordiality, pretend to receive him into their Bosom, whom they shew that they have not forgiven by the Proscription of his Friends.

This is the Sum of the Pamphlet before me, so far as relates to the negative Merits of the New Administration. But their Writer has drawn another Argument in their favour from those of a comparative Kind. I will not stay to enquire whether this Argument is conclusive, and whether it is certain that there is such an Alteration in the Ministers, that having proved the last Ministers to have been evil, that these Ministers are good, follows necessarily and of course. I complained before in the name of their Patrons and of the Public, of the uncertain, equivocal and contradictory Senses in which the word *They* was used, as applied to the New Administration. I have a greater Right to complain of it, as
applied

applied to the late Ministers ; for it is a greater Insult to calumniate, than to praise indiscriminately. Some Words are thrown out against *Their* Pleasures, (*p. 32*) and *They* are insinuated (*p. 33*) not to have been more innocent in them, than *Their* Successors ; and this Attack upon their private Character is after as strong an one as Invention, unsupported by Fact, could form against the public Conduct of the only one of the late Administration whom the Pamphlet names. Nothing can be more base, because nothing can be more false, than this Infination, and because the Writer knew that this Gentleman whom the course of the Pamphlet might seem to point out, bears and deserves the most unblemished Character.—With regard to his public Character, tho' the Defence of an Individual is neither the Motive to the Writer, nor an Object to the Reader, yet because he is the only Person singled out upon this Occasion, and much Stress seems to have been laid on the Charge brought against him. The Discussion will serve as a Specimen of the degree of Credit which should be
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given to the Assertions contained in the Pamphlet, which I sat out with considering. The Assertion is as follows : * *When he (the Favourite) first erected his Standard, the late Ministers resorted to it. The Present fled from it. When that Standard became triumphant, Mr. G—— was the voluntary Standard bearer, and he supported General Warrants, and a new Extension of Excise Laws.* (p. 19.) If by erecting the Favourite's Standard is meant the time of his coming into Office, those who advised and supported this Measure are doubtless to be considered as the Standard-Bearers ; and it is so notorious that this was the Act of the noble Duke then at the head of the T—y, that I cannot help suspecting those who affirm the contrary to be capable of imposing more than their own real Opinion upon the Credulity of the Public. Who can be said with Truth to have resorted to that Standard, but those who are willing to shelter themselves under any Banner which should secure to them their Emoluments held in Communication and Subserviency to him the first Offices of Government ? As soon as the Ensign was displayed, each

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* Merits of the New Administration.

ranged themselves around it, and, *as no Danger was at hand*, seemed ready to protect it according to their several Capacities and Situations ; the Heads of the Party led the Way, and were followed by the private Gentlemen of the Corps ; that Lord in particular (whose constant Attendance on his Grace's steps, may, perhaps, after all the fruitless Guesses of the Public concerning it, have been the true Reason of his Advancement to the Department of Finance) marched in his Rank, that of a Lord of the Bed-chamber, without any Symptom of Mutiny or Desertion. When did these Gentlemen *fly* from the Standard ? When his Grace having proposed the most extensive and unconstitutional Demand of Credit, that ever had been asked, no less than two Millions sterling, had by the Advice of Mr. G— (an Advice supported by Lord B—) been refused, he then with his Party, commenced Patriots, and from that Hour they have reproached Mr G— with having given for a Time, that Support upon just Grounds, which themselves had been disposed to offer upon any. The Term voluntary Standard-Bearer, is most falsely applied
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to one who was so far from supporting the *Favourite's System*, either *within Doors* or *without*, that when he undertook the Government, it was by public and authentic Declarations, upon a Bottom absolutely separate from that Lord's ; and in the course of his Conduct of it, he endeavoured to derive neither Shelter nor Support from that Name, but declared himself the Author of, and therefore responsible for all his Measures. That among these, a Support of General Warrants, and a new Extension of Excise Laws are to be reckoned is absolutely false. On the Legality of General Warrants, it is certain, that he never delivered any public Opinion ; all that he, and those who thought with him, contended for, was, that if General Warrants were illegal, the common course of Justice was (and Experience has proved that this Opinion was just) equal to the Suppression of them.

As to the Extension of Excise Laws, tho' it is possible that three-fourths of the People of these well informed Kingdoms may believe him to have been the Author of the Tax on Cyder, by which they were said to be extended, yet whoever recollects

the Transactions of those Times must know that he publicly declared he gave his Assent to this Tax, which, not being at that Time in the Department of Finance, he had no hand in the Planning, because no other Method was proposed of raising the Money already Voted; and that afterwards, when he undertook the Administration of the Finances, he opposed the Repeal of this Act, because it would have given a Partial Ease to the Cyder Countries at the Expence of the rest of the Kingdom, and because it would have been lessening the Security of the public Creditors.

It would not be difficult to prove the other Assertions which respect the Conduct and Character of this Gentleman, equally false with those which have been already considered, but I trust the End in view has been sufficiently answered without entering more minutely into a Defence which would better become the Warmth of private Friendship, than the general Enquiries of political Discussion: Amidst the Uncertainties of the present Times, when so much Pains has been taken to distract and to divide, to dissipate every System which promised

nised Continuance, and to suspend the
 Functions of any Government even at the
 Hazard of all ; it is difficult to direct the
 Hopes of the well-intentioned to any cer-
 tain Point with a probability of Success,
 The repeated Refusals of a late S— of S—
 to accept the A—n of a Government, must
 convince us, that nothing can be expected
 from that Quarter, till certain Obstacles are
 removed. But difficult as it may be to
 know whither to lead the Wishes and the
 Voices of the honest Men among us, it is
 not difficult to perceive, that the first step
 to our Safety is, the Removal of the present
 M——rs. The Collision of Men of dif-
 ferent Sentiments, may produce some Light
 to guide us in this political Darkeness. A
 short Time, or a Variety of Incidents,
 may give occasion to the forming a
 M—y, composed of Men of Abilities and
 Integrity, and in whom the Support of
 the C—n, and the Confidence of the
 Nation may be united. But the Founda-
 tion of such an A—n must be laid on the
 Removal of *these Men*, who without Abili-
 ties to plan, or Power to execute, bear the
 Form, but want the Substance of M—rs,
 who

who adding Venality to Inexperience, seem determined to ruin that Country which they know not how to save. These Men, tho' they are like desponding Mariners in a Storm, continually hanging out Signals of Distress, and imploring the Support of every one within Distance, seem resolved, however, to keep possession of the Vessel 'till she founders, that in the confusion of the general Wreck, they may have the Advantage of plundering the Stores. These, therefore, it will be necessary to remove, nor will the Task be difficult, as they possess neither the Favour of the C---n, the Affection of the People, the Support of the Representatives, or the Character of personal Integrity and Abilities. The Public will hear of their Dismission with as little Regret, as they expressed Joy at their Promotion. To this salutary End, every honest Man is invited to contribute his Assistance, and I trust it will not be long before those Efforts are successful, and that they will be returned to that Obscurity and Inconsequence which is the natural Situation, and the only one in which they will not be detrimental to the Public, and is the Result of *the Real Merits of the New Administration.*